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ABSTRACT

Although many facets of the migration phenomena in sub-Saharan Africa have been studied extensively, there is a paucity of research on residential mobility behavior of migrants. This exploratory study examines the residential mobility in Accra, Ghana, using a retrospective survey of randomly selected migrant households. To examine the direction of moves, Accra was delineated into three major zones: *the inner city*, *former periphery* and *recent periphery*. The results demonstrate that unlike studies elsewhere, the *inner zone* of Accra does not serve as the major port of entry for migrants. While the *former periphery* served as the zone of entry for the majority of the migrants in the past, the *recent periphery* has become the predominant entry point in recent years, and has also become the zone to which most home owners eventually move. This change in the zone of entry over time has been explained through a 'push-pull' framework. Also, there is a significant association between ethnicity and area of initial residence. With the exception of the *Akans*, there is a marked concentration of ethnic groups in certain sectors of the city. For instance, almost two thirds of the *Mole-Dagbani*s initially settled in the *former periphery*. Using a multinomial logit model to estimate the direction of residential movement, it was found that although the majority of movements were intra-sectoral, different trajectories were observed for renters and home owners. The policy implications of the findings and directions for further research are discussed.

KEY WORDS: GHANA, ACCRA, MIGRANTS, RESIDENTIAL, MOBILITY, RELOCATION, BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

Following the pioneering work of Rossi (1955[1980]), there has been an upsurge of interest in intra city residential movements, especially in the identification of the causal factors underlying the decision to relocate (e.g.,Clark and Onaka,1983; Clark,1992; Cadwallader, 1982, 1986,1992). While most studies in the developed countries center on residential search and relocation models, the emphasis in the developing countries has been mainly on native-migrant mobility differentials. A disproportionate share of such studies has focused on Latin American cities (e.g., Conway and Brown, 1980; Gilbert and Ward, 1982; Gilbert and Verley, 1990; Lindert, 1991).

Although migration in sub-Saharan Africa has been studied extensively, there is a paucity of research on the residential mobility of migrants once they arrive in the city. With the exception of a few, previous studies have not examined the process by which migrants choose their initial and subsequent residences once they arrive in the city. Such studies, as Ahmad (1992) has argued, are important not only for understanding the social patterning of the city but also for planning purposes. This exploratory study attempts to contribute to our understanding of migrants' residential mobility in Accra by addressing the following questions. Where in the city do migrants settle on arrival, and why such choices? What similarities and differences exist in intra city mobility among migrants in an African city and those in Latin American cities, and how are such variations to be explained?

The rest of the paper is structured into five sections. The next section reviews relevant literature and theoretical framework on intra city residential mobility in the developing countries, and explains how the current study extends beyond previous findings. Section 3 discusses the background setting of the study area, while Section 4 deals with the methodology adopted for the study. Section 5 discusses the findings, and the last section deals with the conclusions thereof.

Theoretical Framework

A stereotypical view in the 1950s was that migrants to Latin American cities arrived without any functional knowledge of the city and were forced by the unfavorable housing markets to put up shacks at the periphery. Later studies showed this view to be erroneous. A seminal paper by Turner (1968) on housing priorities and settlement patterns provided the first general model on residential location and intra city residential mobility among low income migrants. Based on empirical studies in Peru, Turner proposed that the initial residential choice among unskilled migrants was neighborhoods that provided affordable rent and access to the city's main source of unskilled employment. Residential priority was given to rental units near the inner city. With time, a combination of factors results in a change in residential preference of the now established migrant from rental accommodation in the inner city to home ownership at the periphery. Thus, according to Turner (1968:360);

> . . . the typical intra urban itinerary of the mass of the urban population is first to the inner ring areas of the city and when a foothold has been obtained, out to the periphery.

Urban research in many Latin American cities in the 1960s confirmed this hypothesis (Morse,1971). In Santiago (Chile) the inner city *conventillos* served as the reception point for recent migrants while the *villas miserais* and the *favellas* were the arrival zones for migrants to Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Sao Paolo (Brazil) respectively. Similar findings came from studies in Rio de Janeirio (Brazil), Bogota (Columbia), and Guatemala City (Guatemala). In the light of these findings, it was argued that peripheral settlements were not receptor points for migrants as previously thought (e.g., Turner, 1968, Johnston, 1972).

In recent years, however, the generality of Turner's model in explaining the residential mobility behavior of migrants has been questioned. In many studies, results contrary to Turner's have been found (e.g., Ahmad, 1992; Lindert, 1991; Afoloyan, 1982; Ward and Gilbert, 1982). These recent findings demonstrate the weaknesses in Turner's model and the need for the reformulation of the underlying theory. In a reformulation, Conway and Brown (1980) proposed a three-stage model by hypothesizing that migrants' intra urban residential mobility pattern is largely dependent on the stage of urbanization (early, continuing, or later) of the city. In the early urbanization phase, the city center serves as the port-of-entry for migrants who, in the absence resident relatives and friends, view accessibility to jobs as their highest priority. In the continuing and later phases, however, the majority of recent arrivals are assumed to have well-established acquaintances in the peripheral areas of the city and on arrival, many stay with them at the periphery. Recent studies in Latin America and elsewhere provide considerable support for the declining importance of the city center as the entry point over time (Ahmad, 1992; Lindert, 1991; Ozo, 1986; Afoloyan, 1986; Gilbert and Ward, 1982). Following Conway and Brown, we expect a variation in the zone of entry over time.

With respect to the choice neighbourhood of initial residence, ethnic and kinship variables have been found to play influential roles in such selection (Vaughan and Feindt, 1973; Ward, 1976; Conway and Brown, 1980; Gilbert and Ward, 1982; Afoloyan, 1982). Among migrants in Monterrey, for example, Vaughan and Feindt (1973:395) observed that the "the most important element in choosing where to live initially has to do with where his kin are already established when he arrives . . . . " Ahmad (1992) made a similar observation in Karachi and, once again, brings to the fore the overriding influence of ethnic variables on the selection of initial residence. On the basis of previous research, we hypothesize that migrants are more likely to live initially in ethnic enclaves where

support from kin in finding jobs and adjusting to the bustling city life is more likely. In subsequent relocation, however, ethnicity is not expected to play any meaningful role since the now established migrants could find their way without assistance from established kin.

Turning to the direction of intra city movements, the predominant view seems to be an outward move from the inner to the outer zones. Centrally located neighbourhoods are regarded as transient points in the relocation itinerary of the migrant. The inner city has historically been seen as an area of "invasion and succession" where waves of migrants initially settled and worked before social and economic upliftment allowed them to settle in the suburban areas. Studies by Afoloyan (1982) and Ozo (1986) in Nigeria provide support for this hypothesis. In these studies, a pattern of net out-migration from the inner-city to the periphery was observed. Vaughan and Feindt's (1973) study in Mexico, and Al-Gabbani's (1984, 1991) work in Saudi Arabia showed similar patterns. Previous research, however, has not given much attention to the possibility of different residential trajectories for renters and home owners, perhaps because the majority of migrants in Latin American cities become home owners within a relatively shorter period of time through "land invasion and squatting." Given the rarity of invasion and squatting in the peripheral areas of Accra, different trajectories are expected for renters and home owners. To avoid the daily hustle and bustle of commuting to work using the inefficient *tro-tro* transport system[1], renters are hypothesized to make inward moves. Home owners, on the other hand, are expected to make outward moves to peripheral areas with land available for housing.

Accra: The contextual setting

[1]Informal and commonest means of transportation system in urban areas of Ghana.

Accra, Ghana's national capital and the major industrial growth pole, is the most developed area in the country. The city's preeminence in the national economy is very apparent. Besides being the seat of government, Accra also serves as the headquarters of major financial institutions, governmental departments, as well as multi-national corporations. Amuzu and Leitmann (1992) estimate that the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area alone contributes between 15-20 percent of Ghana's GDP. Only 3 percent of Accra's labour force is in primary occupations compared with the national average of over 60 percent. A historical overview shows the phenomenal growth of Accra from a low population of 70,000 in 1931 to 450,000 in 1960 —an eightfold increase in 30 years. Current estimates put the population over 2 million people with an annual growth rate of 4.3 percent compared with the national growth rate of 2.8 percent (Amuzu and Leitmann, 1994). Like other rapidly growing cities in Africa, Accra's growth emanates from migration, natural rate of increase, and reclassification of administrative boundaries. This discussion, however, focuses only on the role of migration.

Internal migration in Ghana, like other African countries, is influenced by push-pull factors between places of origin and destination. Ghana shows a marked spatial imbalance in development which has it roots in the historical and developmental processes of the country (Nabila, 1987). Under colonial rule, minimal investment was made in the rural areas and Northern Ghana. Most investments were concentrated in the mining enclaves and the evolving urban centres in the South (Fig. 1). Disparities in the levels of development began to be perceived as the resource-endowed Southern regions offered certain advantages and amenities far superior to those found in the rural areas and the North.

[FIG. 1 ABOUT HERE]

The space economy inherited from the colonial government did not change much after political independence from Great Britain in 1957. Rather, the uneven spatial development was exacerbated by the post-independence development strategy which focussed on the concentration of major economic activities within Ghana's *Golden Triangle*, embracing Kumasi, Accra-Tema, and Sekondi-Takoradi. A case in point was the urban-bias import-substitution industrial strategy which localized more than 50 per cent of Ghana's new industrial establishments in the Accra-Tema urban conglomeration alone (Aryeetey, 1987). With such skewed spatial development, the obvious consequence has been the migration of people from the less endowed areas to Accra, Kumasi and other southern cities.

In-migration to Accra was particularly important in the immediate post-independence era, accounting for more than 60 percent of its growth within period (Nabila, 1988). Unfortunately, the rapid growth of Accra in population and spatial extent has been accompanied by a myriad of social problems. The most pressing among these are inadequate and poor housing. Although urban areas in Ghana have serious housing problems, the situation in the Accra Metropolitan Area is more acute than elsewhere. The rapid growth of the Accra without a commensurate increase in its housing stock has resulted in slum creation and poor housing conditions. The 1960 Ghana Census data indicated that more than 60 percent of Accra's residents lived in dwellings with three or more persons per room. Recent studies show no significant reductions in the number of persons per room (e.g., Benneh et al., 1993). The housing problems in Accra became clearer about a decade ago when the then

Metropolitan Chief Executive revealed that, in some parts of the city:

> people have turned kitchens and needed 'places of convenience' into bedrooms . . . in some instances, people sleep in open spaces and bus stops (Population Impact Project, 1988:19).

The housing deficit of Accra in the early 1990s was estimated at 20,000 houses (Hanson, 1992). With such deficits, we expect that the social links migrants had before arriving in the city to be strong determinants in their initial residential arrangement. As is the case elsewhere in the developing world, we expect relatives and friends to serve as initial hosts and provide migrants with accommodation and a functional knowledge of the city.

Data and methods

The absence of longitudinal data in many developing countries makes retrospective surveys the preferred data for residential mobility studies. With minor modifications to account for local peculiarities, surveys have been used extensively to understand residential mobility: Afoloyan's (1982) work in Lagos; Ozo's (1986) research in Benin City; Ahmad's (1992) study in Karachi; and Lindert's (1991) study in Lapaz. As in other developing countries, data on residential mobility in Ghana are not readily available. Against this background, and following previous studies elsewhere, this study adopted a survey technique by administering 330 questionnaire schedules to randomly selected migrant households in Accra through a multi-mode sampling technique. The survey was carried out in the summer of 1996 with the assistance of the Population Impact Project, University of Ghana.

A major drawback of many intra city mobility studies in the developing countries is their exclusive focus on households located at peripheral areas of cities or a few selected neighborhoods.

Results from such studies, as Lindert (1991) argues, cannot be assumed to apply to individuals outside those particular neighborhoods. To guard against this shortcoming, this study adopted a city-wide baseline survey to draw the number of respondents instead of the "isolated neighborhood approach." Information solicited from respondents included place of emigration, year of arrival in Accra, residential history in the city, and socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. These variables were collected to allow a cohort analysis with respect to year of arrival and neighborhood of initial residence, and current residential tenure (Gyimah, 1997).

Following the methods adopted by Afoloyan (1982) and Ozo (1986) in their mobility studies in Lagos and Ibadan (Nigeria) respectively, Accra was divided into six spatial units based on the Ministry of Local Government's division of the city into six sub-districts: *Ayawaso, Ablekuma, Ashiedu Keteke, Osu Klottey, Kpeshie, and Okaikwei*. These sub-districts provided the spatial units from which respondents were drawn. Considering the income and socioeconomic variation within and among the sub-districts, a multistage technique involving stratification and systematic sampling were used to ensure a representative sample. Neighbourhoods within the sub-districts were differentiated into low, medium and high income residential areas based on an earlier study by the Department of Geography (1990), University of Ghana. The objective of this stratification was to arrange subgroups so that they differed as much as possible from each other and, at the same time contained populations which were as homogenous as possible. In the light of the perceived homogeneity within each substratum, a purposive sampling of migrant households was compiled, then a random number generator was used to draw the number of respondents within each substratum.

The three-tier zonal division of Accra

In many residential mobility studies, the city is often divided into inner and outer zones based on a preestablished criterion. These zones are differentiated to enable the assessment of the pattern and direction of intra city movements. While some of these divisions are based on the spatial extent of the city at a certain point in time, others are based on major landmarks such as major road intersections (e.g., Ahmad, 1992; Lindert, 1991; Ozo, 1986, Afoloyan, 1982; Gilbert and Ward, 1982). A major drawback with the zonal division, as noted by Ozo (1986), is that the size of the sectors could distort the results. A very large zone would not properly differentiate sectoral movements, while a very small sector would create artificial boundaries. With these limitations in mind, Accra was delineated into three zones: *the inner zone, former periphery,* and *recent periphery* (Figure 2).

The decision to adopt a three-tier zonal division of the study area although subjective was, nonetheless, guided by studies elsewhere. The *inner zone* is delineated based on the spatial extent of the city in 1950. This zone roughly coincides with residential neighbourhoods within a 2-3 km radius of the Central Business District. It is bounded to the south by the sea (Gulf of Guinea) and in the north by the *former periphery*. The outer boundary of the *former periphery* is delimited based on the build up area of the city as of 1970. Neighbourhoods within the *recent periphery* are mostly post 1970 residential areas which lie beyond the outer boundaries of the *former periphery*. A fourth sector, consisting of peripheral neighbourhoods in close proximity to Accra but outside its administrative jurisdiction, was also delineated. Subsequently, all residential neighbourhoods of Accra were classified into one of the aforementioned zones. Respondents residing in either *Adabraka, Tudu, Asylum Down* or any of the neighbourhoods in central Accra, were regarded as settling in the inner-city on arrival. Similarly, respondents settling in either *New Town, Kotobabi, or Kaneshie*, on arrival

were coded as residing in the *former periphery*.

[FIG 2 ABOUT HERE]

Results and discussions

An overview

More than two-thirds of the people sampled moved to Accra before age 25 with as much as 50 per cent in the 15-24 age cohort, thus confirming previous findings on the predominance of the able-bodied within migration streams (Caldwell, 1969). Again, there is evidence of chain migration with about 56 percent of the migrants having lived elsewhere besides their place of birth before moving to Accra. Further, the overwhelming the majority (73.7 percent) of the migrants did not stay on their own when they first arrived in Accra. Among the dependent migrants, the majority stayed with kin, while the rest stayed with friends and employers (Figure 3). This confirms other findings on the predominant role of kin and friends in providing diverse assistance to the recent migrant (e.g., Afoloyan, 1982; Ozo, 1986; Green, 1988; Lindert, 1991; Ahmad, 1992). Usually, these hosts are established kin and friends who migrated to the city at an earlier period. When the respondents were asked whether they received help in securing their own initial accommodation, more than two-thirds responded in the affirmative. Among these, the most assistance (usually in the form of shared accommodation, information as to where to find a room to rent, and money for the lease) came from kin and friends, thus reinforcing the earlier observation on the role of kin and friends.

[FIG 3 ABOUT HERE]

A question worth considering is whether variation exists in dependence on friends and relatives over time. Figure 4, which demonstrates such a relationship, reveals that although dependency has always been important, recent arrivals appear to be more dependent. For example, whereas only a few of those who migrated to the city more than 30 years ago depended on someone on arrival, more than a third of recent arrivals (1987 to present) did so. Considering the low housing supply and the high cost of rental accommodation coupled with the difficulties of getting jobs in recent years, the observed trend is not surprising and might even increase in the coming years.

[FIG 4 ABOUT HERE]

Zone of initial residence: A temporal dimension

Generally, the *former periphery* serves as the most prominent zone of entry for the majority of migrants. As Table 1 illustrates, almost half of the migrants first settled in the *former periphery* on arrival while about a third located initially in the *recent periphery*. The *inner zone* and neighbourhoods outside the administrative boundaries of the Accra Metropolitan Area accounted for 22 percent and 3 percent respectively. Thus, the postulate that the oldest part of the city serves as the major entry zone for migrants does not seem to apply to Accra (cf. Afoloyan, 1982; Ozo, 1986, Lindert, 1991) .

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

An important observation, however, is the high concentrations in slums and low income neighbourhoods within the respective zones as shown in the table. For instance, among those who settled initially in the *inner zone*, about half located in the slums and low income neighbourhoods. The proportion is even higher among those who settled in the *former* and *recent peripheries*. If one excludes the few (3.3 percent) who settled in localities outside Accra and disregards the main zone of entry, it is evident that almost two-thirds settled initially in the low income neighbourhoods on arrival. This is similar to the settlement pattern that has been observed among migrants in some other African cities such as Nairobi (e.g., Muwongo, 1982; Malombe, 1990).

A question worth considering is whether there has been a variation in the zone of entry over time as subsumed under the Conway and Brown's model. Figure 5, which shows such a relationship suggests that the proportion of migrants who settled in the *former periphery* on arrival shows a downward trend over time. For example, while the *former periphery* served as the entry zone for more than half of migrants who arrived more than 40 years ago, its share has declined to just about a third among the most recently arrived cohort. Conversely, the *recent periphery* has become more prominent in recent years by serving as the initial residential zone for about half (43 percent) of the most recent arrivals compared to less than a tenth of those who arrived more than 30 years ago. This corroborates findings elsewhere on the predominance of the *recent periphery* as the major recipient for migrants in recent years (Afoloyan, 1982; Ozo, 1986, Ahmad, 1992).

[FIG 5 ABOUT HERE]

In seeking explanations for this temporal pattern, a number of push-pull factors could be considered. On the push side, mention should be made of the high population density, the over-saturation of commercial activities in the *inner zone*, and the subsequent spill over into the *former periphery*. About thirty years ago, Brand (1972) reported of population densities of more than 1000 per hectare in the inner city of Accra. Given the rapid growth of the city, coupled with the rise of the informal retail sector in urban Accra in recent years, it is reasonable to expect higher population densities than those reported by Brand. Additionally, the increased Central Business District functions and the proliferation of commercial retail activities into the *former periphery*'s residential neighborhoods such as *New Town, Pig Farm, Kaneshie,* and the subsequent conversion of some residential housing into commercial use is gradually edging out some residential space in the zone, resulting in a low rental vacancy rate. The qualitative interviews provided some validation for this explanation with some respondents indicating they were evicted because the landlords wanted to convert their rooms into commercial retail spaces with higher rents. These factors have combined to 'push' some residents out of the inner zones. On the pull side, besides affordable rental accommodation, the *recent periphery* also offers opportunities for employment in the urban informal sector occupations such as black smithing and block manufacturing.

Also, the proportion of migrants who settled in peripheral neighborhoods outside the administrative boundaries of Accra provides a bird's eye view of a likely future pattern of residential mobility within metropolitan Accra. Whereas none of those who migrated to Accra more than 20 years ago located in this zone, the pattern is changing gradually as shown in Figure 5. With Accra's high population growth rate, continued in-migration, and low housing supply, it is very likely that

peripheral suburbs such as *Madina, Dome, Abgogba, Kasoa,* and others would become the predominant recipient zones for migrants in the future.

Neighborhood of initial location and ethnicity

Studies elsewhere have documented the marked concentration of identifiable ethnic groups within certain sectors of the city. The focus here is to examine whether ethnicity influences where a migrant resides on arrival in Accra. The major ethnic groups in Ghana are the *Akans, Ewes, Mole-Dagbanis,* and *Ga-Adangbes* who constituted 53 percent, 19 percent, 13 percent and 12 percent of the sample respectively. This distribution corresponds roughly with the ethnic composition of the Ghanaian population (Republic of Ghana and UNICEF, 1990). Considering the problems of initial adjustment into the urban community, migrants are expected to locate initially in neighborhoods where the predominant language and culture are their own kind. This hypothesis is corroborated by the data; the relationship between ethnicity and neighborhood of initial residence is statistically significant, suggesting a rejection of the null hypothesis (Table 2). With the exception of the *Akans,* there is a marked concentration of the other ethnic groups in certain sectors of the city. For example, half of the *Ga-Adangbes* settled initially in the predominantly *Ga* speaking *inner-zone*. Similarly, about two-thirds of the *Mole-Dagbanis* settled in the *former periphery,* where the four predominantly *Mole-Dagbani* speaking neighborhoods of *Nima, Kotobabi, New Town* and *Maamobi* served as the initial residential location for 81 percent of them. The more or less even spread of the *Akans* on arrival reflects their overall distribution within the city. Constituting about half of the entire Ghanaian population, the *Akans* are spread throughout the city except the inner city where the *Gas* dominate. The results thus suggest that recent migrants are likely to settle initially in location where the

predominant ethnicity is their own. However, when respondents were asked about the factors that influence the choice of neighborhood in subsequent relocation, only 2 percent cited proximity to friends and relatives. Perhaps, the now established migrant, aware of the intricacies of city life can survive with little or no assistance from other members of ethnic group.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Residential mobility

About 95 percent of the sample have changed residence since moving to Accra with a median of two moves (Table 3). The number of moves, however, seems to have declined considerably in the last decade; just about half have changed residence since 1990. This suggests that migrants tend to be very mobile in their early years in the city in search of a preferred neighborhood but become more stabilized with length of stay.

[TABLE 3 & 4 ABOUT HERE]

Although there might be multiple reasons for moving, respondents were asked to indicate the most prominent ones. The reasons here replicate some of the most commonly given in the relocation literature (Table 4). One distinct observation, however, relates to the proportion of respondents who move for safety reasons. Because slum and low income neighborhoods serve generally as the initial neighborhoods for the majority of migrants, it is not surprising that safety concerns become a prime

factor in subsequent mobility. After the initial exposure to crime and the unsanitary conditions in slums, the now established migrant prefers to relocate in a more decent neighborhood. Again, an explanation for those who changed residence because they wanted to become independent of their hosts might be sought in the pattern of initial residential arrangement. As discussed earlier, an overwhelming majority of migrants depended on kin and friends on arrival. After securing jobs, most could afford to live on their own and thus become independent of their hosts. However, considering the role of kin and friends in the initial residential pattern, it is surprising to observe that only a few (1.2 percent) cited proximity to friends and kin as the principal reason for relocating. This might be due to the improved communication network within the city. As is the case elsewhere, effective transportation has reduced the friction of distance such that irrespective of how far one lives away from friends and kin, they can always be reached in times of need.

Additionally, the relative insignificance of proximity to work among the reasons for moving might also be due to the dispersed nature of informal sector employment within the city. Table 4 also supports the life cycle related reasons as one of the major reasons for moving. The literature abounds with evidence of the strong relationship between residential relocation and family life cycle (e.g., Rossi, 1980). To many, family and life cycle stage plays a critical role in the decision to move. Fifteen percent of respondents moved for life cycle related reasons. Such reasons include changes in household size and marital status. It is also important to observe that about 14 percent were forced to move because of eviction. In the absence of formal tenancy agreements, eviction is not an unusual occurrence in the urban areas of Ghana. In fact, about a fifth of respondents indicated that they have been evicted, at least once, since moving to Accra.

Table 5 shows the responses of those who have not changed residence since 1990. While the

majority (36.2 percent) did not move because they currently live in their own homes, about 18 percent said they are satisfied with living conditions in their current residence. It is of particular interest to note, however, that almost a quarter did not move because they do not have the money to make the one year lump sum advance rent usually demanded from new tenants by the landlords. It is thus reasonable to argue that although some households might be dissatisfied with current housing conditions, their mobility preferences are restricted because of constraints in the housing market. The lump sum rent advance demanded by landlords could be regarded as one of the factors that impedes mobility.

[TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

The pattern and direction of residential moves

To examine the direction of intra city residential movement in a multivariate context, a multinomial logit model was applied since the dependent variable (zone of current residence) has three categories: *inner zone*, *former periphery*, and *recent periphery*. The multinomial model can be thought of as an extension of the binary logit model and excellent discussions on estimation procedures and model specifications are provided elsewhere (e.g., Long, 1997). The set of

independent variables, shown elsewhere to influence the direction of residential mobility, includes the following: location of previous residence (inner zone; former periphery; recent periphery) which gives an indication of the direction of moves; education (high; low) which is an indication of social status; housing tenure (owner; renter) indicating a renter or owner occupied housing and the length of stay in Accra. Given the outward growth of the city, it is hypothesized that home owners are less likely to be living in the inner zone. The conditional probability of zone of current residence given the covariance vector **x** are

$$p(y = 0|x) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\beta_1 x_1} + e^{\beta_2 x_2}}$$

$$p(y = 1|x) = \frac{e^{\beta_1 x}}{1 + e^{\beta_1 x} + e^{\beta_2 x}}$$

$$p(y = 2|x) = \frac{e^{\beta_2 x}}{1 + e^{\beta_1 x} + e^{\beta_2 x}}$$

In this paper, categories 0, 1, and 2 refer to the three categories of the dependent variable that correspond to *recent periphery*, *former periphery* and *inner zone* respectively with *recent periphery* as the reference. β_1 and β_2 show how a change in the explanatory variables, **x**, affects the conditional probability of living in the *inner zone* of the *former periphery* relative to the *recent periphery*.

Two model specifications are used in the analysis. In each model, the *former periphery* is

treated as the reference category. Model 1 includes only the neighborhood of previous location. Model 2, the full model, builds on Model 1 and contains all the variables. The results of the multinomial analysis are given in Table 6 where the coefficients have been transformed into odds ratios (e^{β}). An odds ratio greater than one indicates a higher propensity for living in the *inner zone* and the *former periphery* for the group with a specific characteristic than the reference group controlling for the other covariates. On the other hand, an odds ratio less than 1 indicates a lower propensity for living in the *inner zone* and the *former periphery*.

[TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE]

Overall, the log likelihood ratios suggest the models are significant. There is a significant association between the location of previous and current residence. Individuals whose previous residence was located in the *inner zone* are more likely to be current residents of the inner city compared with the reference category. Conversely, those whose previous residence was in the *recent periphery* have a lower propensity either in the inner zone or the former periphery. Thus, while there were inter sectoral movements, the majority of movements were intra sectoral. The results also suggest that renters are more likely than home owners to live in either the *inner zone* or the *former periphery* than the *recent periphery*. The relative availability of land for housing in the *recent periphery* seems to attract those who desire home ownership and thus becomes the zone to which most home owners eventually move. There is also a significant association between length of stay and the likelihood of staying in the *former periphery*. Recent arrivals are less likely to stay in either the *inner zone* or *former periphery* than the *recent periphery*, thus confirming the predominance of

the *recent periphery* as the major area of residence by recent arrivals. Also, the less educated are less likely to live in the *inner zone* but are more likely to live in the *former periphery*. As explained elsewhere, the bustling commercial retail sector in the *inner zone* has resulted in a higher cost of residential housing such that only the well-to-do can afford to rent in that zone. At the same time, although commercial retail is gradually edging out residential space in the *former periphery*, there are low income neighborhoods within the zone with affordable housing.

The results discussed here contradict some findings on the intra city movements of migrants found elsewhere. Among these is the outward movement hypothesis which suggests that movement takes place away from the inner sectors of the city. As discussed earlier, while there was outward movement among migrants in Accra, the majority was intra zonal. More importantly, renters and home owners are found to show different trajectories in the direction of residential moves; renters made inward moves while home owners made outward moves. This seeming variation in the direction of intra city movements in Accra and cities in Latin America perhaps relates to differences in the acquisition of urban land for residential housing. Of significant importance is the subject of land invasions and the consequential squatter settlements. Although less widespread in recent years (Gilbert, 1992), land invasion in most Latin American cities enables poor migrants to gain access to peripheral urban land for residential housing which would not have been possible otherwise (e.g., Kelly, 1992; Van Lindert, 1991; Turner, 1968). In Ciudad Guyana, for example, van Lindert (1991) found that about 70 percent of all new arrivals attain home ownership within 5-10 years of stay made possible through invasion. Indeed, Gilbert (1999) has observed that cities in Africa contain a higher proportion of tenants than those in Latin America. Although there is a marked variation within and among countries in Latin America on the proportion of migrants who have attained home ownership

(Gilbert, 1992), the process of becoming a homeowner takes a much shorter time than in Accra (Gyimah, 1997). While to some extent these differences reflect the level of economic development, they are also a function of the process of urban land acquisition. Land invasions are rare in Accra (Amuzu and Leitmann, 1994; Konadu-Agyemang, 1991) and as Asiamah (1990) has shown, increased commercialization in urban Ghana since the 1940s means accessibility to urban land is attained mainly through monetary transaction which is beyond the capability of many households. In a study at a peripheral suburb of Accra, for example, Asiamah (1984) found accessibility to land to be the principal barrier to home ownership in urban Ghana. He observed a higher home ownership rate among households provided with affordable tracts of urban land for housing. This corroborates the literature on housing in developing countries which regard the rising cost of urban land as a significant impediment to the growth of owner-occupation housing.

Conclusions

This study brings the residential movements in Accra to the fore . It has been demonstrated that, on arrival, most migrants initially settle in the slums and other low income areas. While this study focussed only on migrants, the findings also have far reaching implications and draw attention to a number of policy issues. Of great importance are the constraints on residential mobility: acquisition of urban land for residential housing, rampant evictions, and lump-sum advance rent demanded by landlords from new tenants. Residential relocation is seen as the means through which

households satisfy their housing consumption. However, the fact that a majority of households in Accra could not move although they were dissatisfied with their living conditions might call for a policy intervention. While a rigid rent control law might not be the answer, a ceiling on the number of months for which a lump-sum advance rent could be demanded is reasonable. Again, the frequency of evictions and the arbitrary increases in rent necessitate the need for a legal framework such as written leases to protect tenants. In Ghana, the constraints on residential mobility arise mainly because of an ever increasing demand for housing against a limited housing supply. While real estate companies cater to the housing needs of the upper echelon of the Ghanaian society, the needs of the urban poor are unattended to. It is in the light of this that the government should encourage the private sector to also focus on the rental sub-market instead of the current focus on owner-occupier housing.

Since this study focussed only on migrant households, further research could be undertaken to examine the entire city population, drawing attention to native-migrant mobility differentials. As natives of Accra, many *Ga* households have traditional rights to community lands in the city. It would be worth examining the residential mobility of the natives to see whether accessibility to land is a major constraint within this group as it is with the migrant population. Future research could also focus on residential preference within the constraints of one's income. For example, how would ethnicity and kinship affiliation influence such choices? What would be the variations between migrants and natives? A residential preference map of Accra would be the result of such studies.

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Figure 1: Ghana with Administrative Regions

Figure 2: Zonal Division of Accra

Figure 3: Nature of Assistance by Dependent Migrants

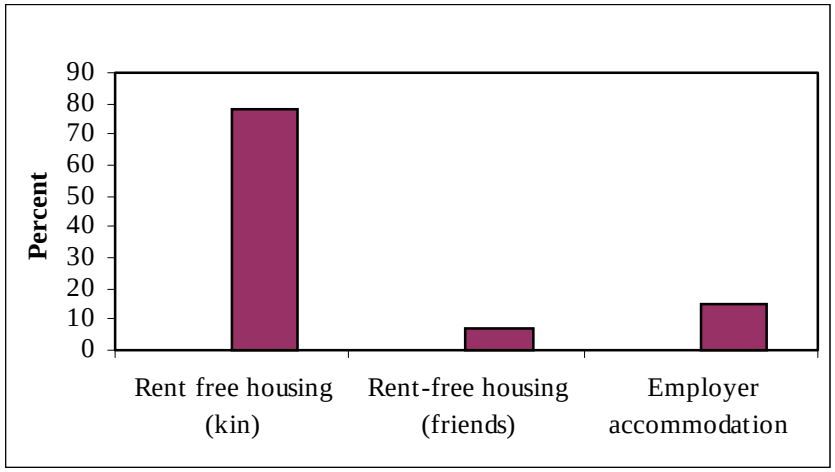

Fig 4: Dependency by Period of Arrival

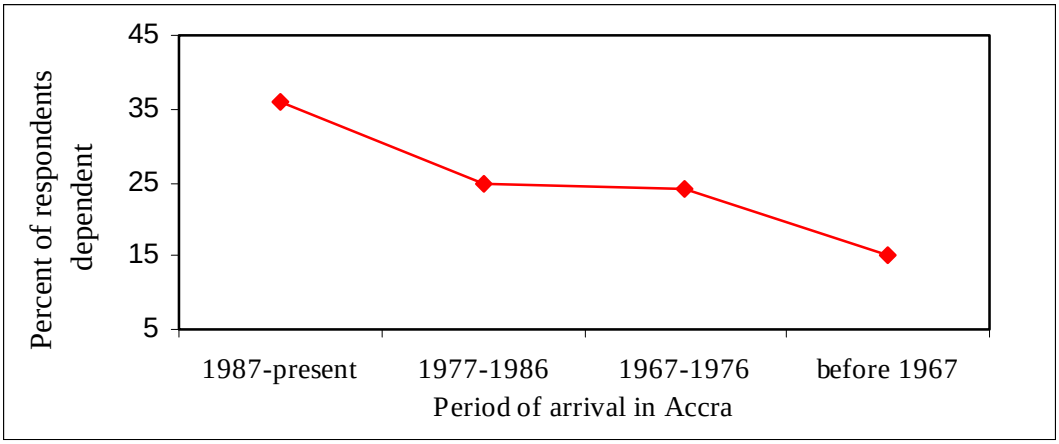

Fig. 5: Zone of Entry by Period of Arrival in Accra

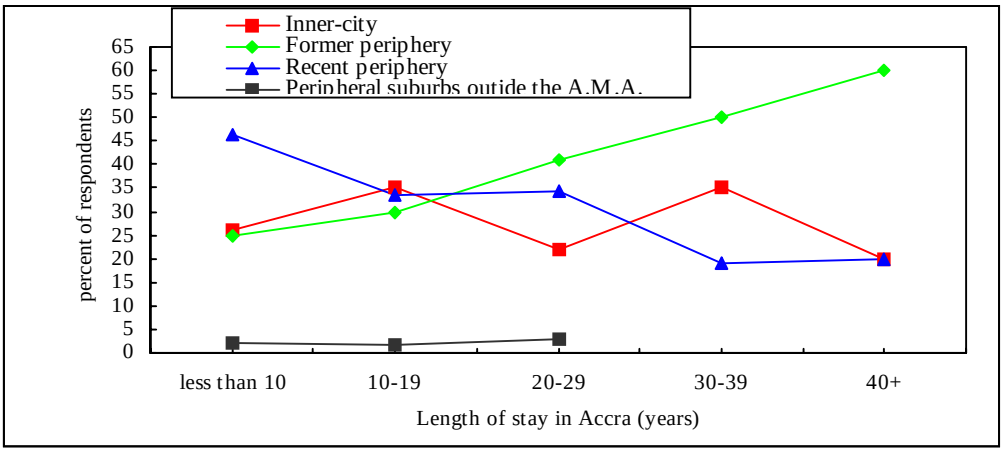

Table 1: Zone of Initial Residence

	Frequency	Percent
Inner zone		
slums/low income neighbourhoods	30	11.2
planned neighbourhoods	3	1.1
other neighbourhoods	27	10
sub-total	60	22.3
Former periphery		
slums/low income neighbourhoods	73	27.1
other neighbourhoods	46	17.7
sub-total	119	44.2
Recent periphery		
slums/low income neighbourhoods	57	21.2
other neighbourhoods	24	8.9
sub-total	81	30.1
Neighbourhoods outside the A.M.A.	9	3.3
Total	269	100

Source: Survey data, 1996.

Note: Respondents who initially stayed in institutional homes such as boarding school, police and army barracks are excluded.

Table 2: Zone of Entry and Ethnicity

Ethnicity	**Zone of Intial Residence**			
	Inner city	Former periphery	Recent preriphery	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Number
Akan	21.2	39.4	39.4	137
Ga-Adangbe	50.0	26.7	23.3	30
Ewe	22.0	62.0	16.0	50
Mole-Dagabani	5.9	61.8	32.4	34
Others	28.6	57.1	14.3	7

Source: Survey data, 1996.

Chi-square=30.69; df=2; p=0.0001

Note: Respondents who initially stayed in neighbourhoods outside the A.M.A. are excluded.

Table 3: Frequency of Residential Moves

Frequency of moves	Since moving to Accra		Since 1990	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	16	5.7	141	49.8
Once	123	43.5	115	46.6
Twice	99	35	18	6.4
Thrice	35	12.4	5	1.8
More than three time	10	3.5	4	1.4
Total	283	100	283	100

Source: Survey data, 1996.

Table 4: Main Reasons for Last Relocation

	Number	Percent
Safety concerns	60	23.6
To be independent of host	50	19.7
Life-cycle related reasons	44	17.3
Eviction	35	13.8
Moved into own/family house	18	7.1
Proximity to work	22	8.7
Retirement	9	3.5
Affordable rent elsewhere	7	2.8
Proximity to kin and friends	3	1.2
Other	6	2.4
Total	254	100

Source: Survey data, 1996.
Notes: Never moved (8) and non-respondent (23) excluded.

Table 5: Reasons for not Relocating Since 1990

	Number	Percent
Currently live in own house	51	36.2
Not enough money to make lump sum advance rent	33	23.4
Satisfied with living conditions in current house	26	18.4
Lack of suitable vacancies elsewhere	12	8.5
Currently live in family/rent-free housing	12	8.5
Currently live in employer-provided accommodation	7	4.9
Total	141	100

Source: Survey data, 1996.

Table 6: Multinomial Logit Analysis of Determinants of zone of current residence

	INNER ZONE VS RECENT PERIPHERY		FORMER PERIPHERY VS RECENT PERIPHERY	
	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE				
Inner zone	3.52 (.0.36)*	3.42 (0.37)*	1.02 (0.48)	1.29 (0.48)
Recent periphery	0.97 (0.37)	0.82 (0.37)	0.37 (0.56)*	0.28 (0.58)*
Former periphery (reference)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
HOUSING TENURE				
Renter		2.22 (.040)*		20.00 (1.05)*
Owner (reference)		1.00		1.00
LEVEL OF EDUCATION				
Less than secondary		0.37(0.42)*		1.75(0.30)*
Secondary plus (reference)		1.00		1.00
LENGTH OF STAY IN ACCRA				
Under 10 years		0.90(0.42)		0.40(0.46)*
11 to 20 years		0.80 (0.42)		0.38(0.48)*
Above 20 years (reference)		1.00		1.00
LOG LIKELIHOOD	-232	-214	-232	-214

NOTES: *= Significance level of 0.05 or better. The standard errors are given in parenthesis after the coefficients.